4; Pierson Z-4, 5 (1935-1937) 1967
SOll Bahia Brazillans SOll

high society of the city in spite of my letters of introduction and my efforts to enter several homes."[8]

Another important question to raise is, "Why did not the structure of Brazilian slave society, like that of the United States, pass over into caste?" The situation here is somewhat more clear. The function of caste appears to be that of preserving inviolate the racial integrity of a dominant group. Caste in India apparently arose in an attempt on the part of incoming Aryan peoples to preserve the status of their families against the consequences of intermixture with the conquered aboriginal tribes.[9] The prohibition of intermarriage excluded almost completely from the more intimate social contacts individuals from groups considered undesirable.

In Brazil the characteristic tendency has always been just the reverse: namely, to incorporate eventually all ethnic minorities into the dominant group. The contact of the Portuguese settlers with the imported Africans was, of course, originally that of master and slave. But out of the slave system which grew up there gradually emerged a moral order in which most whites and blacks, as we have seen, came to share a common life on an intimate, personal basis.

Men come together ordinarily because they are useful to one another. Under these circumstances they may regard each other for a long time as mere utilities. But human beings do not live for long, like plants, in relations that are merely symbiotic. For men, unlike plants, communicate. In this way they come to know one another's minds and to be responsive to one another's attitudes and sentiments. They find themselves, eventually, living as it were, each in the mind of all his neighbors. It is in this way that a moral order grows up in which,

[8] L. F. Tollenare, "Notas dominicais tomadas durante uma residencia no Brasil, 1816–1818" (portion relative to Pernambuco translated by Alfredo de Carvalho from the unpublished French manuscript), *Revista do Instituto Archeologico e Geographico Pernambucano*, No. 61 (1905), pp. 129 and 230.

[9] Sir Herbert H. Risley, *The People of India* (2d ed.; Calcutta, 1915), pp. 264–65.

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4: Pierson Z-4, 5 (1935-1937) 1967
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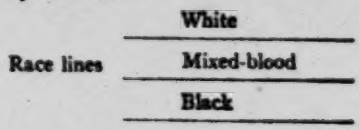
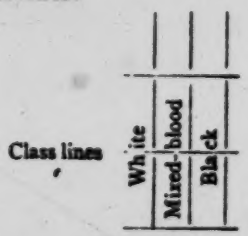
There is no caste based upon race; there are only classes. These classes are still largely identified with color, it is true, but they are classes nonetheless and not castes. The most characteristic tendency of the Bahian social order is the gradual but persistent reduction of all distinguishing racial and cultural marks and the fusing, biologically and culturally, of the African and the European into one race and one common culture.

The actual situation in any case of race contact can perhaps be precisely defined by a diagram which distinguishes between caste and class relations.[1] In a caste system the racial lines may run thus:



In case the structure of society is organized on the basis of class, as in Brazil or Hawaii, the color lines run vertically, cutting across class lines:



Each race, including the mixed-bloods, is likely to be represented in all the occupational classes. The hierarchy of occupations will inevitably take the form of a pyramid, but the

[1] The author is indebted for this schematic arrangement to Dr. Robert E. Park.

4: Pierson Z-4, 5 (1935-1937) 1967
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similar advancement in the United States, but by all members of the Brazilian community.

14. Since, then, the blacks, the mixed-bloods, and the whites do not constitute endogamous occupational groupings, the social structure is not that of caste.

15. Nor does the Negro in Brazil appear to be, as he is in the United States, developing into a self-conscious racial minority in free association with, but not accepted by, a dominant racial majority.

16. Instead, the entire organization of society tends to take the form of a competitive order in which the individual finds his place on the basis of personal competence and individual achievement more than upon the basis of racial descent. This fact is perhaps best reflected in the common saying: "A rich Negro is a white man, and a poor white man is a Negro."

17. The Brazilian racial situation is, then, sufficiently distinct from that in India, for example, where the social order is organized on the principle of caste, and from those in many parts of the world where a national or racial minority (or minorities) is in free association with, but not accepted by, a dominant national or racial majority, to constitute, along with the Hawaiian racial situation and certain others, a distinct type: *a multiracial class society.*

18. There is no deliberate segregation as one finds where races have been embittered for a long time; spatial distribution is largely the consequence of economic sifting. Such isolation as exists is largely due to varying educational levels or to identification with elements of African culture, particularly the fetish cult.

19. For the assimilation of the *Africanos* at Bahia, while now far advanced, is not yet complete. African survivals still

[SALVADOR]

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*563 565 their degree of education, in the hotels and even more in the boarding houses of various categories. They may freely visit restaurants, cafés, teashops, cabarets; they frequently participate in dinner parties where they meet white friends. The newspapers and magazines report anniversaries, marriages, the conferring of diplomas, births, returns from travel, celebrations and tributes received, or the death of any person whomsoever, without any mention of type or color, printing portraits of either of them indiscriminately. And when an individual is not well enough known so that the newspapers spontaneously publish an article about him, /35/ it is not rare to see his name or even his portrait reproduced, after payment of the price of the announcement, in the column devoted to this kind of news. "Few persons," says a White, "could have more prestige in Bahia society, thanks to their exquisite manners and their elegance, than a university professor and his wife, both mulattoes, had ten years ago."

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Among the most highly placed families of the present-day society of Bahia, says a morena informant, there are many who "belong to the caste," who, in other words, are métisses, although it would not be discreet to draw attention to the origin of these families. Since there are no castes, properly speaking, but merely classes, colored people find their way into the world of the Whites, even if they have pronounced black features; it is merely necessary for them to approximate the "superior" dominant group by their behavior. In order to show that she was born already assimilated with the Whites, a woman practicing a liberal profession explains that she is the daughter of a Black who was a domestic "in a milieu other than that of the senzala" (1).

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1. Senzala = all the communicating houses of poor quality where the slaves lived in the fazendas.

She considers herself a privileged creature of God, since she has all that she desires. "I am on good terms with people of the best society. I choose my friends in all classes. I visit the clubs and the government palace frequently. A short time ago the newspapers even published my picture beside the governor of the State in the course of a luncheon that one of my friends gave in his honor."

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[SALVADOR]

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*563 575 873 A very dark color may, however, create difficulties in some circumstances. One of the founders of the important association of students of secondary education was a dark mulatto, highly esteemed among his colleagues; it was, however, not possible for him to be elected president of the association because, as he was able to confirm, a white Communist colleague insinuated that so dark a young man would not have enough prestige before the educational authorities and the public. Elected vice-president he assumed the office of president only when the latter retired; he was then able to perform many accomplishments without encountering the obstacles that might have been connected with his "quality." When an excursion to another city was organized, a mulatto student felt that some of his /70/ comrades hesitated to include him in their group (1).

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1. "In Brazil there is no caste line. As a colored man assimilates the standards of culture of the dominant class, he is treated as an equal, although one notes a strong tendency among the Whites to avoid relations with colored men in situations requiring a certain setting (diplomacy, elegant salons, military schools, etc.)," Guerreiro Ramos, "Contactos racials no Brasil," Quilombo, 1st year, No. 1, Rio de Janeiro, 1948.

Taking account of this, he decided to withdraw discreetly and was congratulated by a white comrade for his "elegant gesture." [178] These two episodes occurred about ten years ago, and the informants say that they would hardly occur today, tolerance having become much greater.

*563 873 Relations between students and professors of different "quality" present nothing unusual in our day; they depend, as a general rule, on the psychological characteristics of both, rather than on their physical appearance. But there are white schoolmistresses in the *563 872 public elementary schools who appear more severe and sometimes

[SALVADOR]

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*563 671 829 esteemed, we only need more respect for the lower class in general; we need to improve its food, to help it effectively rise again, or, before that, to obtain a level of life that it has never as yet had."

/103/ Conclusions

*563 829 That there is no color prejudice in Bahia is a statement that is only partly true. Colored people are still regarded as forming a biological and social category characterized by traits that are considered inferior to those of the Whites. Some people are convinced that Blacks and Whites differ in intellectual capacities, in personality, morality, and aptitude for progress. They declare that if Bahia does not progress the fault lies with the Blacks. That is the reason why such a large number of light mulattoes conceal or deny their caste or feel ill at ease when one makes an indiscreet allusion. These prejudices, though slight, explain the cases of discrimination of which colored people in certain sectors of the society are victims. These incidents, moreover, are not accompanied by any violence, and it is difficult to distinguish them from manifestations of class antagonism, in view of the fact that in Brazil skin color is very often a symbol of social rank. The Whites evoke the memory of the old Portuguese colonists who dominated the economy, politics, and the administration, and whose descendants, even today, make up the major part of high society. As for the Blacks, they remind us of slavery, work on the plantations, and domestic occupations. Even today the colored men are cantoned in the lowest and least educated strata of society.

*563 [565] [564] [555] But the population of Bahia may be defined as a multiracial society with classes, and not with castes, if one defines caste as a closed group to which one belongs by birth and from which it is impossible to escape. In Bahia colored people have a status that is conditioned by their individual qualities and aptitudes, and they may enter into competition with the Whites. In principle